

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT MANILA 13429 ACTION SECSTATE DATED AUG 4, 1978.

QUOTE: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MANILA 13429

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: MARR, RP, US
SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR ON SECURITY ISSUES

1. PROVIDED BELOW FOR REVIEW IS THE PROPOSED TEXT OF A
SPEECH THE AMBASSADOR IS SCHEDULED TO DELIVER TO THE
OLONGAPO CITY LION'S CLUB AUGUST 12. THE THEME IS SECURITY
AND THE TEXT IS DRAWN PRIMARILY FROM POLICY STATEMENTS OF
THE PAST 18 MONTHS. WOULD APPRECIATE COMMENT BY AUGUST 10.
TEXT FOLLOWS:

- BEGIN QUOTE:
- I CAN THINK OF NO MORE APPROPRIATE GATHERING WITH WHOM
TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE BROAD POLICY ISSUES WHICH RELATE TO
THESE MILITARY FACILITIES OF WHICH YOU ARE SUCH AN
INTEGRAL PART.

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- THE NAVAL FACILITIES HERE AT SUBIC BAY AND THE AIR
FORCE FACILITIES AT CLARK AIR BASE UNDERSCORE THE UNITED
STATES VIEW OF ASIA. IN THE WORDS OF VICE PRESIDENT
MONDALE SPEAKING RECENTLY IN HAWAII AFTER VISITING THE
PHILIPPINES AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, "AMERICA
IS UNALTERABLY A PACIFIC POWER. THIS IS A NATURAL CONDI-
TION OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY, AS WELL AS A CONSCIOUS
CHOICE."
- EVEN FOR A RELATIVE NEWCOMER TO THE REGION SUCH AS

MYSELF, IT CAN BE IMMEDIATELY SEEN THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS EXTENSIVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SECURITY AND CULTURAL TIES WITH ASIA.

- GEOGRAPHICALLY, OUR TERRITORY IN THE ALEUTIANS, HAWAII AND GUAM IS IN THE HEART OF THE PACIFIC. MANY OF OUR PEOPLES COME FROM ASIA; A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER FROM THE PHILIPPINES ITSELF.

- ECONOMICALLY, OUR ASIAN TRADE IS GROWING RAPIDLY. LAST YEAR IT REACHED 60 BILLION DOLLARS. FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS MORE OF OUR TRADE HAS BEEN WITH ASIA THAN WITH ANY OTHER REGION, INCLUDING EUROPE.

- POLITICALLY, MANY OF OUR STAUNCHEST ALLIES, INCLUDING THE PHILIPPINES, ARE IN THE PACIFIC BASIN AND WE HAVE SOLEMN COMMITMENTS TO HELP THEM MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY. IN BROAD SECURITY TERMS, OUR ASIAN DEFENSE POLICY IS PART OF OUR GLOBAL POLICY. WE CANNOT BE STRONG IN EUROPE AND WEAK IN ASIA. OUR STRENGTH IN ASIA SUPPORTS OUR STRENGTH IN EUROPE, AND VICE VERSA. THEY ARE TWO SIDES OF A COIN. WE ARE A GLOBAL POWER FACED WITH A GLOBAL CHALLENGE. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE IN ASIA JUST AS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET IT ELSEWHERE.

- FROM THE STANDPOINT OF SECURITY, THE STRATEGIC BALANCE THAT EXISTS TODAY IS CLEARLY IN OUR NATION'S INTEREST AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE REGION. UNITED STATES POLICIES SEEK TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT EQUILIBRIUM, HOPEFULLY PREVENTING ANY SINGLE POWER FROM ATTAINING A PREPONDERANCE OF INFLUENCE OR MILITARY SUPERIORITY IN THE REGION.

- AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO MODIFY CERTAIN OF OUR POLICIES IN ORDER TO AVOID WHAT AT TIMES IN THE PAST MAY HAVE SEEMED AN INAPPROPRIATE DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE REGION. SOME OF THESE POLICY ADJUSTMENTS HAVE LED SOME OBSERVERS TO MISTAKENLY ASSUME THERE IS A LESSENING OF AMERICAN CONCERN ABOUT ASIA. SOME OTHERS MISTAKENLY CONCLUDED FROM THE COLLAPSE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA, THE CLOSING OF US BASES IN THAILAND AND THE DECISION TO DRAWDOWN US GROUND FORCES IN KOREA, THAT THE US WAS ABANDONING ITS STRATEGIC AND SECURITY ROLE IN THE REGION.

- THESE PERCEPTCNS DO NOT REFLECT THE REALITY OF OUR POLICY.

- OUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AIMS IN ASIA WERE DESCRIBED LAST YEAR BY SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE IN THESE TERMS:

- "FIRST: THE UNITED STATES IS AND WILL REMAIN AN ASIAN AND PACIFIC POWER;

- SECOND: THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE ITS KEY ROLE IN CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC;

- THIRD: THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NORMAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA ON THE BASIS OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT;

- FOURTH: THE UNITED STATES WILL PURSUE MUTUAL EXPANSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT ACROSS THE PACIFIC, RECOGNIZING THE GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REGION;

- FIFTH: WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF ASIA."

- LAST DECEMBER, PRESIDENT CARTER REAFFIRMED THAT THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINS A STRONG INTEREST IN THE REGION, AND WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE HERE. THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL HONOR ITS SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND INTENDS TO RETAIN A BALANCE AND FLEXIBLE MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC.

- TO EMPHASIZE THIS REAFFIRMATION OF AMERICAN POLICY, THE PRESIDENT LAST MAY SENT VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER BRZEZINSKI ON SPECIAL MISSIONS TO ASIA. AS YOU KNOW, THE VICE PRESIDENT VISITED THE PHILIPPINES, THAILAND, INDONESIA, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND WHILE DR. BRZEZINSKI WENT TO KOREA AND JAPAN, AFTER THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. AT EVERY STOP THEY INDICATED PUBLICLY, AND PRIVATELY, FIRM UNITED STATES RESOLVE TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE REGION. AND WITH EVERY ALLY, INCLUDING THE PHILIPPINES, AMERICAN TREATY COMMITMENTS WERE REAFFIRMED.

- WHAT THEN IS THE SETTING IN THE REGION IN WHICH UNITED STATES POLICIES, ESPECIALLY SECURITY POLICIES, MUST BE VIEWED? IN TERMS OF SECURITY, IT IS IMPORTANT TO
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RECOGNIZE THAT THE EQUILIBRIUM OF MILITARY POWER WHICH HAS

EMERGED IN EAST ASIA DURING THIS DECADE IS NOT NECESSARILY PERMANENT. SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC CONTINUES TO GROW. CHANGES OF FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE POSSIBLE. NORTH KOREA IS ALWAYS AN UNCERTAIN ELEMENT WHICH COULD DISRUPT THE PEACE ON THE PENINSULA AND EMBROIL THE GREAT POWERS. THERE CONTINUE TO BE UNCERTAINTIES IN THE INDOCHINA AREA.

- IN ORDER TO BEST ENSURE THAT THE REASONABLY STABLE ENVIRONMENT WE NOW SEE IN EAST ASIA DOES CONTINUE, WE MAINTAIN MAJOR MILITARY FORCES IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC. THESE FORCES INCLUDE B-52'S, BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES, NINE US AIR FORCE TACTICAL FIGHTER SQUADRONS, TWO AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, TWO AMPHIBIOUS READY GROUPS, TWENTY CRUISERS AND DESTROYERS, TWO-THIRDS OF A MARINE DIVISION, AND A MARINE AIR WING.

- THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED THAT, EXCEPT FOR THE PLANNED WITHDRAWALS FROM KOREA, THE UNITED STATES WILL MAINTAIN THIS CURRENT LEVEL OF COMBAT FORCES IN ASIA. NOR ARE WE NEGLECTING THE POSSIBILITY THAT MANY FORCES STATIONED IN THE US COULD BE DEPLOYED TO ASIA IN AN EMERGENCY, JUST AS THEY COULD TO EUROPE. THIS IS WHY GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES ARE PROGRAMMED, WITH ALL THE FLEXIBILITY THAT SUCH FORCES PROVIDE.

- IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS WE WILL ALSO BE STRENGTHENING OUR FORCES IN THE REGION BY THE INTRODUCTION OF SEVERAL ADVANCED WEAPONS SYSTEMS: TRIDENT NUCLEAR MISSILES FOR OUR SUBMARINE FLEETS, CRUISE MISSILES FOR B-52'S, F-14 FIGHTERS FOR OUR CARRIERS, F-15'S FOR AIR FORCE SQUADRONS, THE AIRBORNE WARNING AND CONTROL SYSTEM (AWACS), AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THIS COMMUNITY, WE WILL MAINTAIN THE SIZE OF OUR PACIFIC FLEET, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MODERNIZING AND INCREASING IT TO THE EXTENT THAT SHIP-BUILDING SCHEDULES PERMIT.

- OUR CONTINUED MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE AREA -- COMBINED WITH OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATIES WITH OUR PRINCIPAL ALLIES IN THE REGION -- ARE DESIGNED TO INHIBIT POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE REGION SO THAT THEY MAY DEVELOP AND PROSPER WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. THIS MILITARY PRESENCE ALSO IMPOSES CERTAIN DEFENSIVE CONSIDERATIONS UPON OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES IN THE GLOBAL POWER EQUATION.

- THE BASES IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC -- THOSE IN THE PHILIPPINES, JAPAN, KOREA, AND GUAM -- ARE ESSENTIAL TO

MAINTAINING THIS MILITARY PRESENCE. THESE BASES PROVIDE THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION AND SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR FORCES IN THE REGION. THESE BASES ARE KEY TO THE PRESERVATION OF A CREDIBLE DETERRENT. THEY FORM AN INTERDEPENDENT STRUCTURE FOR USE IN THE EVENT OF HOSTILITIES ANYWHERE IN THE REGION. THE BASES HERE CONSTITUTE THE ONLY MAJOR AMERICAN PRESENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND ARE AN EFFECTIVE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE REGION. AS IS WELL KNOWN IN THIS COMMUNITY, SUBIC NAVAL BASE HELPS ASSURE THE PRESENCE OF THE SEVENTH FLEET IN THE AREA. SUBIC NAVAL BASE, CLARK AIR BASE AND THE OTHER BASES IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TO PROTECT THE SEA LINES OF COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE SOUTH PACIFIC AS WELL AS TO INSURE AN EFFECTIVE MILITARY PRESENCE IN NORTHEAST ASIA, SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND THE INDIAN OCEAN.

- TO MAINTAIN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BASES WHICH UNDERPIN THIS MILITARY PRESENCE, THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COMMUNICATION IS REQUIRED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES
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IN THE REGION. HERE IN THE PHILIPPINES, DISCUSSIONS ARE UNDERWAY BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO AMEND THE EXISTING MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT TO INSURE THE CONTINUED VIABILITY OF THESE KEY MILITARY FACILITIES ON TERMS WHICH FULLY RESPECT PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY.

- THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS AND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE LAST MAY IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN VIEWING THIS IMPORTANT NEGOTIATION. IN THAT STATEMENT PRESIDENT MARCOS AND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AGREED THAT CONTINUED USE OF THE PHILIPPINE BASES BY THE UNITED STATES FORCES CONTRIBUTES TO THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF BOTH COUNTRIES. THEY AGREED ON THE NEED TO CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS ON AMENDMENTS TO THE MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT THAT WOULD ALLOW UNITED STATES CONTINUED USE OF PHILIPPINE MILITARY BASES ON TERMS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY.

- IN THIS REGARD, THEY AGREED THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS WILL NEGOTIATE AMENDMENTS TO THE MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT REFLECTING, AMONG OTHERS, THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

- 1. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY EXTENDS OVER THE BASES.

- 2. EACH BASE SHALL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A PHILIPPINE BASE COMMANDER.

- 3. THE UNITED STATES SHALL BE ASSURED EFFECTIVE COMMAND AND CONTROL OVER UNITED STATES PERSONNEL,

EMPLOYEES, EQUIPMENT, MATERIAL, THE FACILITIES AUTHORIZED FOR THEIR USE WITHIN THE MILITARY BASES, AND UNHAMPERED MILITARY OPERATIONS INVOLVING THEIR OWN FORCES.

- 4. IN EVERY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY YEAR FROM THE DATE OF THE AMENDMENTS AND UNTIL THE TERMINATION OF THE AGREEMENT, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THERE SHALL BE A REVIEW OF THE AGREEMENT TO ASSURE THAT IT CONTINUES TO SERVE THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES.

- DISCUSSIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY BETWEEN MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO DEVELOP THESE AMENDMENTS.

- IT IS IN SUCH A SPIRIT OF FRANK AND DETAILED COMMUNICATION, BOTH BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON THE MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT AND BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN COMMUNITY HERE AT SUBIC BAY ON THE DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES OF THE NAVAL BASE, THAT OUR SHARED INTERESTS SEEM BEST SERVED. THERE IS NO MORE IMPORTANT ENDEAVOR BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND EQUAL ALLIES OR BETWEEN GOOD NEIGHBORS THAN TO INSURE THAT SHARED OBJECTIVES ARE PURSUED WITH CANDOR, EFFECTIVENESS AND MUTUAL RESPECT. ENORMOUS WORK IS REQUIRED TO INSURE THAT THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THIS SECURITY RELATIONSHIP CONTINUE TO SERVE EFFECTIVELY THE MUTUAL NEED OF OUR TWO NATIONS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE WORK TOGETHER TO MAINTAIN ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL FULFILL OUR RESPECTIVE NEEDS AND PROMOTE OUR SHARED OBJECTIVES. FOR THE BASES AND FOR ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, PRESERVATION OF THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COMMUNICATION SEEMS ESSENTIAL.

- THE RECENT VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THIS PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION, PROVIDING AS IT DID A HIGH-LEVEL DEMONSTRATION OF CONTINUED UNITED STATES RESOLVE TO STAND BY ITS COMMITMENTS TO THE PHILIPPINES. THE PRESENCE OF US ARMED FORCES IN THE PACIFIC, INCLUDING THE US AIR AND SEA FORCES WHICH USE THE PHILIPPINE BASES, FURTHER DEMONSTRATES THE REALITY OF THIS COMMITMENT.
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- AS WE WORK TOGETHER TO INSURE THAT OUR DEFENSE PARTNERSHIP REMAINS VITAL AND RELEVANT, WE PROCEED FROM A SOLID FOUNDATION OF SHARED EXPERIENCES AND ENDURING SECURITY OBJECTIVES. IT IS TO BE EXPECTED IN THE COMPLEX AND INTERDEPENDENT WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE, THAT WE WILL SOMETIMES

HAVE DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS ON SOME ISSUES. THIS IS
NATURAL BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND EQUAL NATIONS. THIS DOES
NOT MEAN THAT TWO LONGSTANDING FRIENDS AND CLOSE ALLIES
HAVE LOST SIGHT OF MUTUAL INTERESTS AND THE NEED TO WORK
TOGETHER TO MEET COMMON DANGERS. END QUOTE.
MURPHY UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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